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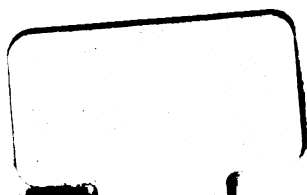
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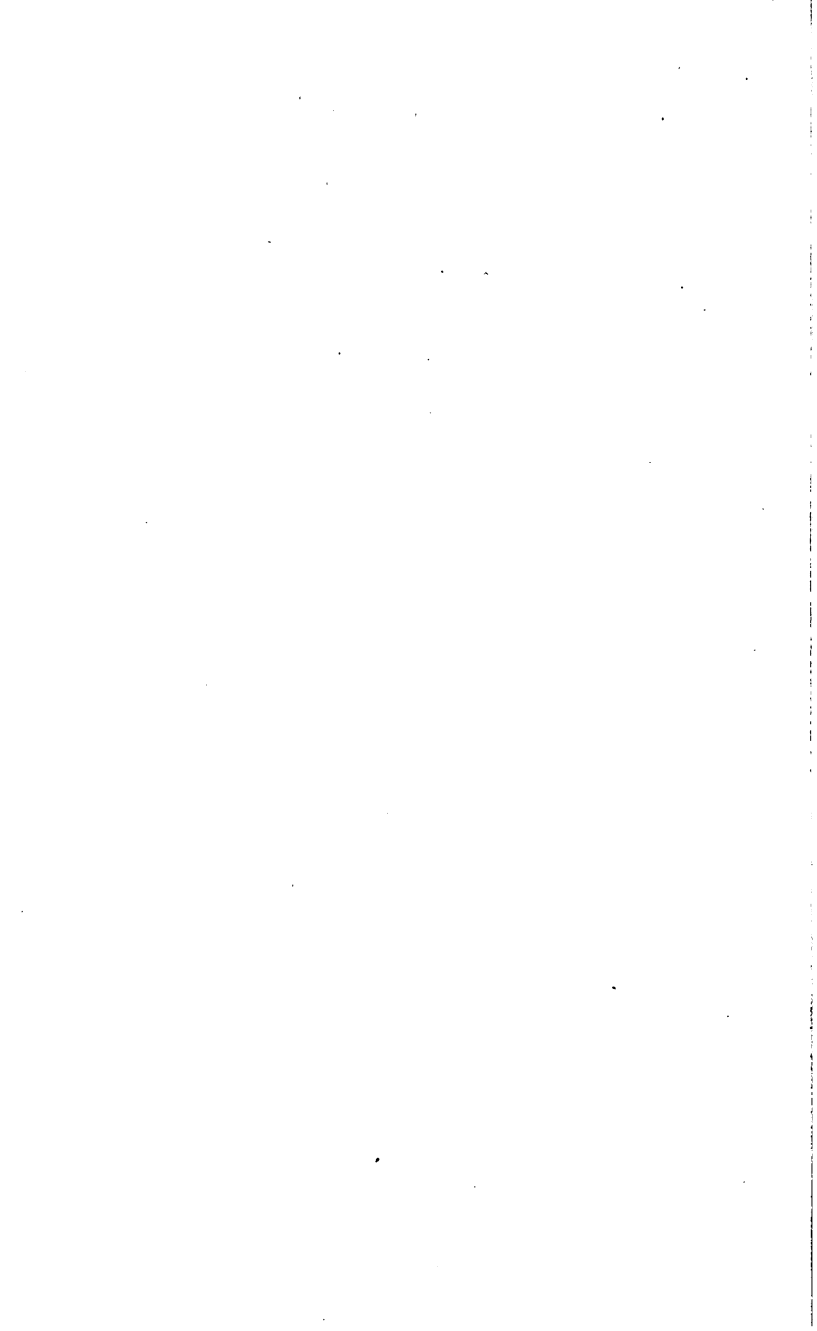


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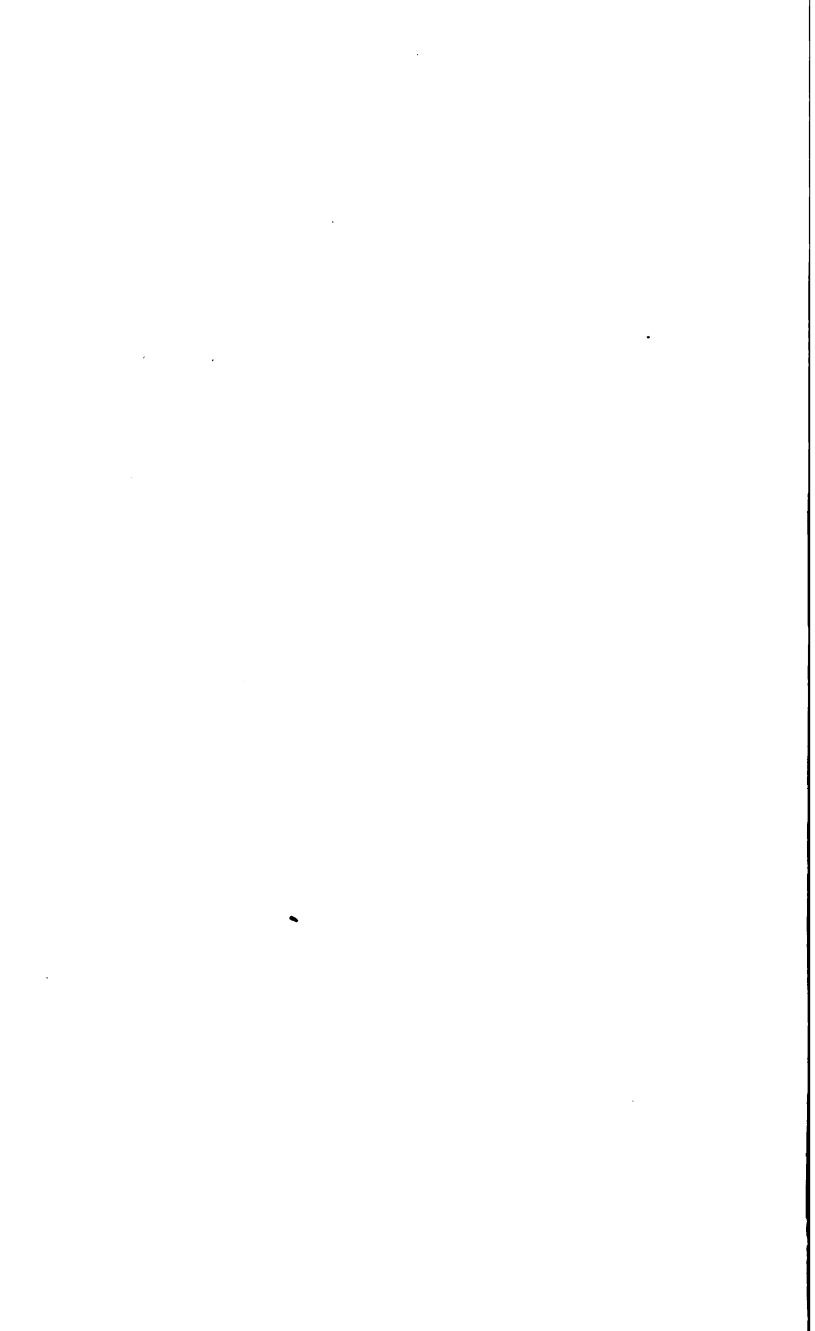


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SULTAN SELIM II.

(From a Turkish Painting.)

Husain, Abū 'Alī 'Alī

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF TUNIS

AND OF

THE GOLETTA

BY THE OTTOMANS A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573).

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

J. T. CARLETTI,

HONORARY LIBRARIAN OF THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE.

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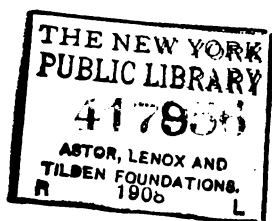
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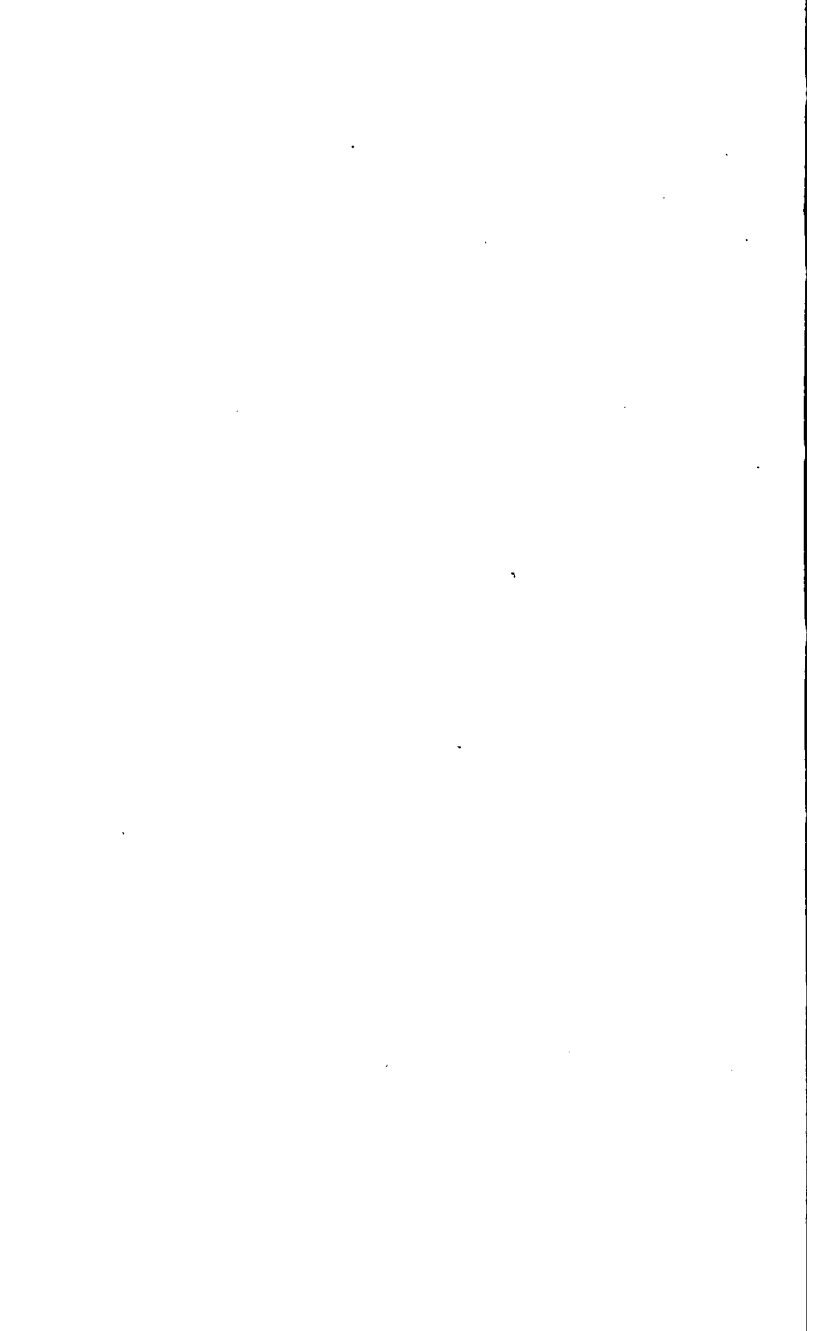
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TO
MY BELOVED PARENTS

I Dedicate

THE FOLLOWING PAGES,
AS A TOKEN OF FILIAL LOVE AND DEVOTION.



PREFACE.

IT was merely by chance that I one day came across the present narrative, which is a translation from an Arabic history bearing the following title : بِشَائِرِ أَهْلِ الْإِيمَانِ بِفَتْوحَاتِهِ آلِ عُثْمَانَ, Bashā'iru ahli-'l-īmān bi-futūhāti āli-'Othmānu, viz. "*Good (or Joyful) Tidings to the People of the True Faith, concerning the Conquests of the Dynasty of 'Osmān.*"

It was made by the late M. A. ROUSSEAU, formerly Secretary to the French Consulate in Tunis, and published in the year 1845.

The attention of the public having been directed to Tunis by the recent invasion of the Regency by the French, it appeared to me that an Oriental account of an important event in the past history of that country might not be without interest to English readers. Hoping that such will indeed be the case, I venture to lay before the public of Great Britain the following translation of M. ROUSSEAU's rendering of the Arabic historian.

The work was written, as will be seen, by a zealous Mussulman, as indeed are all the histories which we have from the pens of Muhammadan writers.

I have endeavoured to make the translation as literal as possible, in order that the English reader may get an idea of the Muhammadan style of writing history.

I am much indebted to the kindness of E. J. W. GIBB, Esq., the translator of Sa'du-'d-Dīn's account of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and author of "Ottoman Poems." He has been good enough to revise my translation, and has, moreover, had the courtesy to lend me his copy of the English Edition of Cantemir's, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, from which I have been able to reproduce the portrait of Sultan Selīm II., which forms the frontispiece of the present little book.

These pages are my first attempt at what is commonly termed "book-making;" they are a mere translation of a French translation from the Arabic, and the original itself has no other merit than that of being the narrative of a memorable event. The importance of the incident related in the following pages lies mainly in its immediate consequences; it brought upon Spain the loss of a most valuable stronghold in one of the best parts of North Africa, entailing at the same time that of the suzerainty of a Muslim kingdom, which she had succeeded, not however without many difficulties, in maintaining for nearly forty years. The event, in itself, is far from unfamiliar to those who are acquainted with the history of Philip II. of Spain; but the details of that event from the pen of a

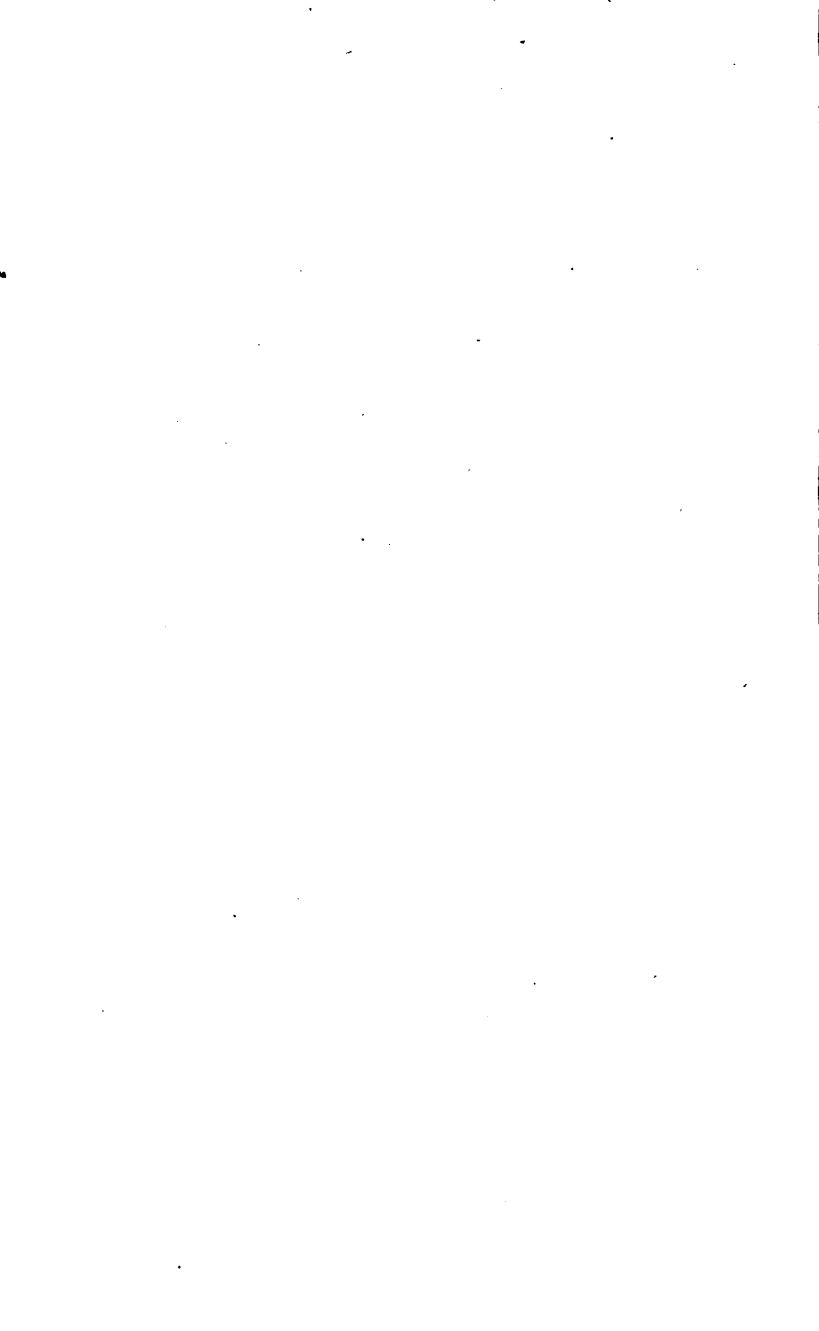
Muhammadan, whose fierce hatred towards the Christians, and no less fierce enthusiasm for his own co-religionists, have prompted him to intermingle the said details with as many imprecations and insults on the one side as blessings and praises on the other, will, if I mistake not, prove both interesting and curious even to those well read in European histories. This forms my only apology for presenting the work to the public.

If it has the good fortune of meeting with a kind and indulgent reception, I shall consider any trouble I may have had as highly rewarded; and will be encouraged to endeavour, by dint of labour and application, with full faith in the old maxim, "*labor improbus omnia vincet.*"

This being, as I have said, my first attempt, I think it my duty to dedicate it to my beloved parents, as a token of filial love and veneration; with the ardent hope that they may live to see something more worthy of them from their affectionate and devoted son.

J. T. CARLETTI.

LONDON,
January, 1883.



INTRODUCTION.

TUNIS, or Toonis, one of the most important states of what is generally termed "*Barbary*," in North Africa, or rather the *Northern Coast* of the African Continent, is bounded on the North and North-East by the Mediterranean, on the South-East by the so-called Regency of Tripoli, which is at present a mere Pashalik (a province having a Pasha for a Governor), on the South and South-West by the great desert of Sahara, and on the West by the Algerian Territory. It lies between $32^{\circ} 21'$ and $37^{\circ} 25'$ north latitude, and $7^{\circ} 40'$ and $11^{\circ} 15'$ east. The greatest length from north to south is about 350 miles, and the mean breadth, on thirty-fifth parallel, is about 130 miles; its area is estimated at about 40,000 to 50,000 square miles.

The city of Tunis, which is the actual capital of the state, was formerly called *Tenez* or *Tynes*, and it is supposed by some to have been a Phœnician colony established previous to the foundation of Carthage; and by others to have flourished, as the seat of some African Chief, long before the landing of Dido, which took place at a spot some eight or nine miles distant therefrom in a north-westerly direction.

During the time of the power of Carthage, the town of

Tunis cannot have been anything more than a secondary place, perhaps only a mere village. The plain which lies close to it, and must have extended then to the walls of Carthage, was no doubt the field where the great battles were fought between the Romans and Carthagenians during the Punic wars.

Under the sway of the Romans in Africa, after the fall of the City of Dido, and subsequently under that of the Vandals, Tunis continued to be a secondary place, the seat of the government remaining still at Carthage, which had been rebuilt by its conquerors. But, towards the middle of the sixth century, Belisarius, who had rescued Carthage and its environs from the hands of the Vandals, seems to have made of Tunis *the chef-lieu* of a province still however kept as a dependency of Carthage; with which it remained subject to the Byzantine Emperors down to the time of its conquest by the Muslims. These latter, as is well known, in the course of few years overran the whole northern coast of Africa to the shores of the Atlantic, first under the leadership of 'Oqba bin Nāfi (عُقْبَةُ بْنُ نَافِعٍ), and shortly afterwards under that of Mūsa bin Nusayr (مُوسَى بْنُ نَصِيرٍ), the famous conqueror of Andalusia.

But even after the conquest by the Muslims, Tunis continued to be for several centuries a mere provincial town, the conquerors having established the seat of their government at Kerawan, or Qayrawān, a city founded by the said 'Oqba during his second invasion of Africa, in the years 48—50 of the Hijra (670—672), at about sixty miles due south of Tunis.

During the Khalifate of the Ommiade Dynasty all the African countries remained in faithful subjection; but when the power passed to the hands of the Abbaside family several of those African provinces revolted, and Tunis, which had supplanted Qayrawān, and become the seat of the governor, sent from the East by the Khalifs, became the theatre of the fearful and desperate struggles which frequently took place between the Khalifs of Andalusia (who had proclaimed their independence) and the Abbasides, who vainly tried to maintain their waning power over these remote lands. Previous to this, the town had been furnished (114 of the Hijra = 732 A.D.) with an arsenal by 'Ubaydu-'ullāh bin al-Habhāb, عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَبَّابِ, who, say the Arabian historians, caused the sea to be brought to Tunis by diggings. In this arsenal, for which workers were sent from Egypt (and the Arabian historians say they were all Copts to the number of a thousand families), vessels were built; and several expeditions sailed from it to plunder the coasts of Sicily and Sardinia, and even some parts of the Italian Peninsula; all of which helped much to increase the wealth and the power of Tunis, so that Qayrawān was altogether eclipsed.

But it was only in the year 603 of the Hijra (1206) that Tunis became an entirely independent state, under the dynasty of the Benī-Hafs, بَنِي حَفْص (or better بَنِي أَبِي حَفْصٍ, Benī abī Hafs),—better known to European historians as the Hafsite Dynasty,—when the sovereign of the Maghrabine, or Western Empire, Muhammad an-Nāsir,

of the Al-Muwahhid Dynasty (whose founder was the famous 'Abdu-'l-Mū'min bin 'Alī, ^{عبد المؤمن بن علي}, and whose sway at one time extended over almost the whole northern coast of Africa, from Barqa to the ocean, and even for a while included part of Sicily and Andalusia) retired to the Maghreb, which is at present known as the empire of Morocco, in order the better to chastise some of his lieutenants, who had revolted, and were seeking to secure their own independence.

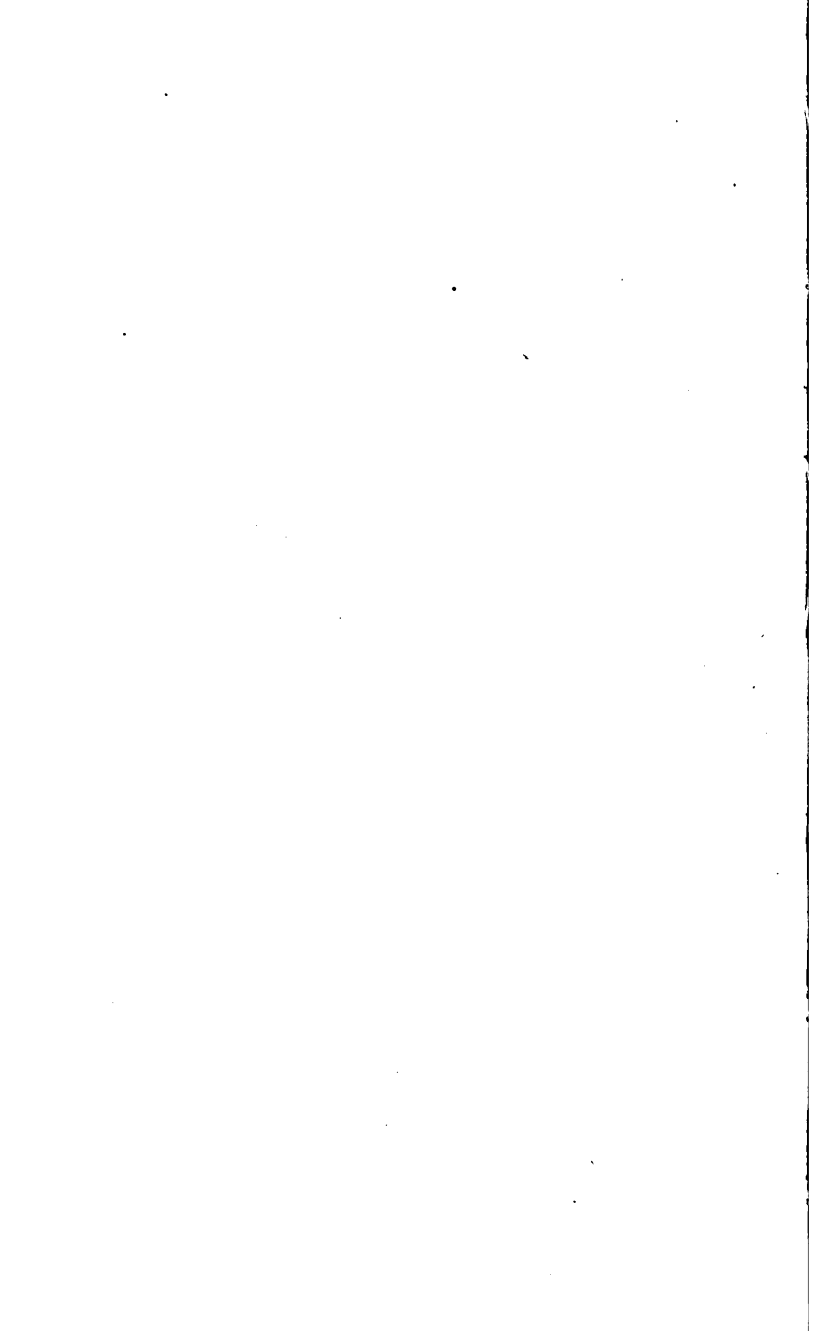
For nearly three centuries the Hafsite Dynasty swayed the sceptre of the Tunisian kingdom, occasionally extending their power not only eastward to the very frontiers of Egypt, but westward also as far as the shores of the Atlantic, and into Andalusia itself; becoming thus the masters of their former masters.

They took the title of Amīru-'l-Mū'minīn, "Commander of the Faithful," ^{أمير المؤمنين}, a title which had been till then borne in Africa only by some of the Al-Muwahhids.

The third prince of the dynasty, Muhammad, who took the surname of Al-Mustansir (^{المستنصر}), saw his power extended even to Arabia; and in the year 657 of the Hijra a deputation came from Mekka to bring him the submission of the Holy City, and recognise him as the legitimate *Khalif*, and "Commander of the Faithful." It was also in the reign of this prince that took place the invasion of Tunis by Louis IX. of France, commonly called Saint Louis, in the year 668 Hijra (1269)—an invasion which

came to a sudden conclusion through the death of the French Monarch by plague at a place close to the town of Tunis, known at present by his name, and the extermination of the hostile army.

But, like all the states which rose after the dissolution of the vast empire of the earlier Khalifs, the Tunis of the Hafsites was exposed to ever-recurring wars from without, and to numerous revolutions from within. And it was to restore one of the family, Abū-Muhammad Al-Hasan, known to the European historians as Mawlawy Hasan, who had fled to Spain to escape the wrath of his subjects, and the sword of the invader of Tunis, the famous Barbarossa (Khayru-'d-Dīn), that Charles V. made his African expedition, in the year 1535-36. He further hoped to secure the country from the hands of the Spaniards, or the infidels (as they are styled by the Arabian historians), who despite the almost continual, and at times very successful attacks of the natives, aided by some Turks, had managed to remain masters of the country. As they had garrisons at the Goletta and Sousa, as well as in the forts of Tunis, and even at the island of Jerba, in the lesser Syrthe, the Sultan Selim II. despatched the powerful expedition under Sinān Pacha, the fortunes of which are related in the following pages.



THE
CONQUEST OF TUNIS AND GOLETTA,
BY THE TURKS A. H. 981 (A. D. 1573).

THIS Expedition, one of the most important ever undertaken by the Ottomans, was crowned with the most memorable victory which they ever gained. Let us mention here that the events related in the following pages took place during the reign of the greatest Ottoman Ruler, the Emperor Selim Khān, second of this name. (May God grant him His mercy and His forgiveness! May he be called to the joy of adoring and contemplating His divine perfection! May he be called to partake of the delight of Paradise!) ⁽¹⁾

When the Kings of Tunis of the Dynasty of Hafs ⁽²⁾ saw their power decline, and discord arise in their midst, many members of this House took refuge with the Christian Franks, to return soon after to their country with infidel troops, whom they were to aid in taking possession of Tunis. Their fixed intention was to fight with these against the true believers intrusted with the defence of that town, to massacre the whole of the latter, to take into slavery their hapless wives, to erect new fortresses in various parts of the kingdom, and so to reach with these same Christian troops the very heart of the country belonging to Islam. Moreover, their object in taking refuge with the Frank

kings, was to ask, that one of the members of the dynasty of Benī-Hafs (the sovereigns of that kingdom up to the day when it fell into the hands of the Christians) should be replaced upon the throne of Tunis. ⁽³⁾

Goletta, near the town of Tunis, having fallen in the hands of the Christians, these hastened to build there a fortress, which was soon in a condition to receive a numerous garrison, and a considerable amount of material for artillery, sufficient to repulse any act of aggression on the part of the enemy.

The position of the Mussulmans was becoming more and more unhappy and critical. No mercy remained for them if fate threw them into the hands of the Christians—death, captivity, or spoliation was their lot.

The evil became worse and worse, and the villainy of the worshippers of the Cross acquired more and more strength and bitterness.

A new expedition against Tunis was ordered by the great king of the Christians, to-day master of the town of Seville, in Andalusia, (May God make it again the abode of Islam by the blessing of the Lord of all men, the Prophet!). Muhammad, son of Muley-Hasan-el-Hafsī (May the Eternal God destroy him for his iniquities!), lent his aid and support to insure the success of the project. ⁽⁴⁾

The Christians had not long to wait ere they saw success crown their enterprise. Tunis fell into their power, and a large number of her defenders paid with their lives for their heroic courage; whilst their wives and children bathed with their tears the chains of slavery. Muhammad-el-Hafsī, that traitor and perjurer, has had his days stamped in history with the seal of universal reprobation.

The profound and justly-deserved hatred that was vowed

against him by the Mussulmans, would be hard to describe. His life is soiled with shame and infamy, for he made alliance with the infidel Christians against Islam in order to call into this country the worshippers of the Cross and of idols; and also because he feared not to cover with disgrace the noble town of Tunis, the glorious home of the True Faith, by leading there himself the infidel, instead of hoping and trusting in the everlasting God, the Most Great, the Most High. "But there is no strength nor any power,—saving in God, the High, the Mighty." (5)

The details of this disastrous event soon spread, and the knowledge thereof was not long in reaching the King of Kings of Islam, the Shadow of God spread over His creatures; he who possesses the empire of the world from east to west, the Sultan Selīm Khān, son of the Sultan Suleymān Khān (May God bestrew his days with His Divine bounty, and be pleased with him! May empire remain with his posterity till the end of time!)

When this Prince heard the sad news, he was instantly filled with indignation and anger. His honour, so deeply wounded, was shocked; longing for signal vengeance took possession of him, and his heart beat higher with that noble love of Islam, which henceforth became its sole councillor.

Strong emotion was visible in him; he rose from his throne, his mouth foamed with indignation, his voice thundered and broke threatening and terrible. Addressing himself to his ministers, he exclaimed, "Who is he, among you, whom I may charge to fly to the defence of the Faith, to go and beat down and humble the presumptuous and foolhardy pride of the worshippers of the Cross, to deliver the Mussulmans from the yoke of the infidel Christians?"

..... At the same instant the assembly saw rise from his seat the generous warrior, the dreaded lion, he who wielded with equal skill the sword and the pen, the conqueror of Yemen, Sinān Pasha. (May his flags never cease to wave and ever shine like the sun, that fills with its bright light the east and west of earth!) ⁽⁶⁾ Answering the appeal of the Sovereign, he said these words:—"I undertake this duty. I will wash out this shameful stain; I will open that which is shut; I will raise again that which is destroyed; in one word, I will repair this public calamity. The Ottoman Empire has preserved us and nourished us, only that we may be liberal in its cause with our lives, with our riches, and with our children in moments so untoward as these, when there is need to deliver the Mussulmans from the sufferings they endure; I shall only then be discharging a sacred duty." The Sultan welcomed with great satisfaction these noble words of Sinān Pasha; he honoured him with an imperial Fermān that raised him to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the victorious armies, and intrusted him with the duty of conquering and subduing the infidel Christians. As an assistance to Sinān Pasha in this enterprise, to help him to maintain strict discipline among the troops, and to superintend the management of the vessels, he appointed to accompany him the Admiral of the Sublime Porte, the lion of the sea, the Emīr of the Emīrs, Qiliġ 'Alī, Qapudan-Pasha. ⁽⁷⁾ (May God favour his conquests!).

The fleet was composed of two hundred galleys, all of great speed and equipped with a numerous and excellent artillery, and of several transport ships, in which a great quantity of war material was stored.

The fleet left Constantinople on the first of Rebī-'u-'l-Evvel of the year 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.). A short time after

its departure it reached Port Navarino in the Morea, where it made a short stay. Having taken to sea again, it sailed towards the coast of the Venetian Republic, and on Thursday, the 5th of Rebi-'u-'l-Evvel, it anchored in the port of Endjeri, **انجری**. The next day the squadron sailed again with a fresh and favourable wind. It pursued its journey sometimes with the help of sails, and sometimes with that of oars. The mountains of Calabria soon showed themselves in the distance, and on the ninth day after its departure from Constantinople, the fleet arrived at noon opposite the citadel of Tabarq, **طبرق**, a place on the coast very well fortified, and belonging to the Christians. Here the first engagement took place. As soon as the fleet was near enough to the fortress, the Christian garrison opened a strong and well-sustained fire upon it; but this act of hostility, instead of giving rise to a sentiment of fear or of weakness in the hearts of the victorious troops, served but to rouse and excite the more their noble and warlike courage. They soon attacked the enemy in their turn with so much fierceness and obstinacy, that he was compelled to abandon his position and seek refuge in another citadel, called Bakhaba, **بخبه**.

The Mussulmans followed him thither, and a fresh action, not less severe, soon commenced. Many faithful Believers found a martyr's death in this battle. Among these they mention the Kahya of the Flag, Qapudan—Qoja Eyli Muhammed Bey, who landed at the head of his soldiers to fight the infidels for the Glory of God. A bullet from the enemy struck him on the head. He was immediately taken on board his ship, where, after five days of bitter suffering,

he breathed his last. "Thou shalt in nowise reckon those who have been slain in the cause of God, as dead; nay, they are alive, provided for before their Lord." ⁽⁸⁾ He died a martyr and passed to a better world. The hour of the Maghreb ⁽⁹⁾ having struck, a cannon was fired to give the army the signal to re-embark on board the ships. Orders to get ready were transmitted to the vessels of the squadron, and the voyage was continued.

On the fourteenth day the fleet arrived before the island of Messina. After a short stay, the squadron took to sea again and soon arrived before the fortress of Syracuse, where a violent wind dispersed the ships, so that they were unable to rally until the following night, at a place called Kīn (كين). The Citadel of Bān (بان) being near this point, the fleet made for it, and it was not long before it arrived there and cast anchor. The citadel was at once attacked with so much vigour and bravery, that it was obliged to surrender almost immediately.

The place was razed to the ground, and the garrison put to the sword. This little expedition ended, the troops returned on board the vessels. Each day, the army made a landing on the coast of Sicily to take in fresh provisions of water, and whenever an occasion of doing so presented itself they vigorously attacked the enemy, killing, plundering, and destroying all that fell within reach of their blows; and the villages, the houses, and the fields soon bore witness, by their complete destruction, to the victory won by the Ottoman troops.

Nevertheless, the Christian population, tired of always suffering the disastrous results of such aggressions, gathered in a body, foot-soldiers and horsemen, in order to

repulse the attacks so often repeated, and to fight to the last with any one who might again attempt to land upon the coast.

An occasion soon arrived. A landing of sailors and courageous land troops having taken place, a severe engagement began almost immediately between the Christians and the Mussulmans; but the result was not long doubtful. The enemy, having been vigorously attacked, was obliged to seek safety in a hasty flight, leaving on the battle-field a large number of dead. Indeed, the Christians had never up to this day suffered so unfortunate a defeat. The booty was very rich, and a large number of women and children were loaded with chains. "And the punishment of the life to come shall be more severe, and more lasting than the punishment of this life." ⁽¹⁰⁾ And, as it were, to put the seal on this calamitous reverse, so fatal to the Christians, the army, before re-embarking, set fire to all manner of things along the coast, so that a terrible conflagration raged, which soon burned up trees, houses, and palaces.

On the 16th of Rebī-'u-'l-Evvel, the fleet captured a Christian ship loaded with corn, and bound for some strongholds of the infidels. This capture was of good omen to the expedition for the rest of their journey. On the 18th, the army arrived before a ruined fort on the Tunisian territory, near the citadel of Klibiah and eighteen miles from Tunis. ⁽¹¹⁾ The vessels and the galleys were decked with a great number of flags of different colours as a sign of joy. On the 24th the fleet anchored before Goletta, and the landing of the troops took place forthwith, also that of the artillery and war material. The camp was pitched, and the tents of the noble Vezir and

the Qapudan Pasha were erected on a spot beyond the reach of the cannons of Goletta.

The army set to work and busied itself without loss of time in erecting intrenchments, by piling all round the camp great quantities of earth, and surrounding it with large ditches, so as to protect it from the enemy's artillery. Several batteries were erected in haste on the spot, whence they could most effectively cannonade the forts of Goletta; several catapults were added to the pieces of artillery. Sinān Pasha put himself at the head of the army, to commence the attack. He armed himself with his courage to fight in the cause of God; he put his trust in the One, before whom the greatest and the most powerful prostrate themselves.

As to the troops, they were firm and resolute, and perfect order reigned in the ranks.

The Christians, on their side, seemed to trust in their courage, which was stirred up by the hatred they bore in their hearts to Islām.

The engagement began, the artillery of the enemy opened on the army so deadly and so well sustained a fire, that the roaring of the cannon was more terrible than thunder itself, and the flash thrown forth by each round of firing seemed brighter and more dazzling than lightning in a storm.

The victorious troops, instead of shrinking before so fearful a sight, disdained all fear and faintheartedness, and advanced against the enemy with an equal intrepidity, steady and strong as a block of granite.

Now, when things were in this position, the news spread in the camp of the arrival of an Emīr of the Sublime Porte, a Pasha appointed by the noble Emperor, Hayder Pasha. This chief had taken upon himself the defence of

Qayrawān against the attacks of Muhammad El-Hafsī⁽¹²⁾, and had been assisted in this undertaking by Mustafa Pasha of Tripoli, of the west.

These two Emīrs having heard of the arrival of Sinān Pasha and the Ottoman troops at Goletta, hastened secretly during the night to the Commander-in-Chief to confer with him on the measures to be taken to push on the siege of the town of Tunis. They obtained from Sinān without any difficulty a tolerably large detachment of troops, with the help at which these two Pashas were enabled to commence the siege. The detachment was composed of one thousand matchlockmen, one thousand men from the legion of volunteers, with their *agha*, Hābil Bey, for chief, of several pieces of heavy artillery, and a few swivel-guns; three Emīrs of Banners⁽¹³⁾ were also joined to this column—Ibrāhīm Bey, of the Cairo division; Muhammed Bey, of the Cyprus division; and Ebū Bekr Bey, of the Qara-Hisār division.

Muhammad el-Hafsī, that traitor ally of the infidels, had retired to Tunis, where he intended, with the help of some Christians, to offer a vigorous resistance; but his hopes were deceived. The Christians, considering on the one side that the town was too large for the means of defence at their disposal, and on the other that the citadel, the only fortified work, was almost in ruins, resolved to leave Tunis, and take up a position near it, on the sandy grounds الرملة. On that spot stood a fort which they had begun to construct some time before, and which had remained unfinished. This fortification had been surrounded by several outworks, and stood outside the gate of the marina. ⁽¹⁴⁾ As soon as the Christians took up their position on that point they hastened to erect in it new works

of defence, by surrounding it with a palisade, against which they hurriedly heaped up earth and sand. They took good care to stock their intrenchments with a large quantity of war material. It was besides armed with formidable artillery, and more than 6000 men, Christians and renegades, took refuge in it. Tunis having been evacuated by the enemies of the Mussulman Faith, could no longer offer any resistance ; consequently the victorious troops took possession of it without striking a blow, and immediately set to work to repair and fortify the points which were considered too weak, or easily approachable. Once masters of the place, the Mussulmans laid siege to the fortress, which served as the last refuge to the Christians, and which had been so well furnished by them with every means of defence.

The two Emīrs at once acquainted Sinān Pasha with the result of their first attempt, and asked him for a reinforcement, that they might besiege the Christians with a more imposing army. The General-in-Chief hastened to send the help asked for, and a second detachment, under the command of Qapudan Qilij 'Alī Pasha, came to join those already engaged under the orders of the Emīr of Tunis, Hayder Pasha, and the Emīr of Tripoli, Mustafa Pasha. But this new reinforcement seemed to Qilij 'Alī Pasha still insufficient to reduce a place defended by so great a number of infidels: he therefore asked Sinān Pasha to send him more troops and a new supply of artillery. The General-in-Chief did not hesitate to accede to this new request, and a strong column of 1000 Janissaries, under the orders of Mejdi Pasha, whom he made 'Alī Agha, Silāh-dār (armour-bearer), accompany, received orders to start. A battery of eight guns and swivel-guns was also

despatched in all haste to Qilij 'Ali Pasha, who, with the assistance of this new reinforcement was enabled to conveniently commence the siege with some prospect of success.

The besieging army at once intrenched itself. Nevertheless, these united forces did not discourage either the Christians or those of the inhabitants of Tunis, who, having renounced the faith of their forefathers, were fighting alongside of the infidels. On several occasions they made sorties, and fell upon the besieging army, and even penetrated within the intrenchments. Several severe engagements took place, in which a large number of Mussulmans met with the glorious death of the martyr.

As soon as Sinān Pasha heard of the loss which the victorious troops had sustained, he came himself to the spot, the distance which separated the two besieging armies being very short. He had left in good hands the care of directing the siege of Goletta. He carefully examined the disposition of the ground and those places in the fortifications which it appeared to him would most easily be breached, and disposed the troops accordingly.

He exhorted them to courage and perseverance, and having given his instructions to the Qapudan and the Pasha, he returned to Goletta, where his presence was required for the continuation of the siege operations. The two armies continued with one accord their attacks upon the Christians, vying with each other in heroic courage and in despising the fear of death. But, then, had not these valiant defenders of the Faith the eternal life in Paradise and the delights of the other world before them to encourage them to fight on? In the meanwhile, Ahmed Pasha, Emīr of Algiers ⁽¹⁵⁾, came to join his forces to those already united to fight the infidel Christians, and he placed himself

at the disposal of the General-in-Chief. The latter, having accepted his aid, appointed as his post the south part of Goletta; so Ahmed Pasha repaired thither at once, and there established his camp, which he intrenched. His troops advanced up to the moat of the Christians, and there hastily constructed a redoubt.

The enemy had bored a tunnel which extended under ground till it reached a building which had formerly served as a custom-house, and in the midst of which still stood several remains of fortifications, these by means of some additional works, could easily be put into a state of defence.

Perceiving this new point of advantage gained by the Christians, the Grand Vezir, fearing this near approach to his camp, directed in person the attack against this position just occupied by the enemy. The engagement was of the most obstinate character, but success was not long in declaring itself in favour of the Ottoman troops; the position was taken by storm, and the Christian garrison put to the sword. They measured at that place the depth of the ditch (of the enemy's camp), and it was found to be sixty cubits; but it is to be supposed that this measure was from the top of the fortress to the bottom of the ditch, which, bordering on the sea, was full of water.

The Commander-in-Chief, after having held council with his generals, ordered that the ditch should be filled up and a redoubt erected on the spot. He himself set the example: to encourage his soldiers to the work, he took up a hand-full of earth, throw it the first into the ditch. The noble thought that guided him in this act was that of pleasing God, in glorifying and fortifying the Mussulman Faith.

This example was followed by all the other Emirs, and by the soldiers themselves, who brought earth and sand,

and threw it in the ditch. It was soon filled up; and, according to the orders given, a military redoubt was raised there. That was on the 14th of Rebī-'u-'s-'sānī, 981.

From that day, the situation of the Christians became more and more critical, for from the top of the redoubt raised on the side of the ditch the besieging artillery overlooked the citadel of the Christians, and opened on it a murderous and almost uninterrupted fire. At this time a new reinforcement came to the Ottoman troops; Ramazān Pasha (¹⁶), who had been left as Governor at Algiers, came at the head of 3000 men and placed himself at the disposal of Sinān Pasha. The General-in-Chief ordered him to go with his troops to the camp established before the Christian fort, near Tunis, to accelerate the siege which had been commenced by the army; so Ramazān Pasha proceeded at once to the place which had been assigned to him. The Vezīr continued to direct, with intrepidity and persistent courage, the siege operations at Goletta. At last the moment came when that formidable fortress had to surrender to the forces that hemmed it in on every side. Sinān Pasha ordered a general assault. The Ottoman troops, animated with a desire to conquer the infidels, surrounded the citadel, and, vying with one another in ardour, dashed to the assault, and almost immediately the place, unable to hold out any longer, fell into their power.

The victory was won on the 6th of Djoumada l'Evvel, 981. The whole garrison was put to the sword; Christians, renegades and Arabs, who had taken refuge there, were massacred, with the exception of the governor of the fortress, chief of the Christians, and the king of Tunis, Muhammad al-Hafsī, who were both loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon.

All the Mussulman people gave themselves up to joy and exultation on hearing of this happy event, which seemed to augur still more brilliant successes.

This victory may be considered as one of the most memorable that has ever been won by the Mussulmans, and as one of the most glorious advantages ever gained in favour of the religion of our lord and master Muhammad (may peace be with him!).

The citadel of Goletta, which had just fallen thus into the power of the victorious army, was perhaps the best fortified work of the Christians; and, what is most remarkable in its history, is that it took them *forty years* to complete it, that is to say, since the year 941 of the Hijra (an allusion to the date at which Tunis was conquered by Charles V.), and that the besieging army took possession of it after a siege of *forty days*, a day for a year! As it would have necessitated too great an outlay to put this fortress in a state of defence after it had sustained so long and so destructive a siege, and also as the place was too distant for the immediate supervision of the Porte, its preservation became of a secondary consideration, if not actually dangerous. So Sinān Pasha ordered that it should be demolished from top to bottom and entirely razed. In fact, the troops were immediately set to this work, the pickaxe struck from the very top of the ramparts to their foundations. The destruction of this formidable citadel was so complete, that scarcely a stone was left standing. Nothing remained of it but a mere remembrance. No more vestiges, no more traces, no signs whatever, and the silence of those places, once so full of life, is broken only by the roaring of the north and south winds and the dismal cries of the owl.

Sinān Pasha lost no time in sending to Constantinople

the news of the brilliant success he had obtained, so that it might thence be spread all over the Empire, and that each good Mussulman might share in the common joy and exultation.

The attendance of the Vezir not being any longer required at Goletta, he came with his army to Tunis to increase by his presence the zeal and courage of the besieging Mussulmans. His arrival gave energy to the valour of the troops and the chiefs under whose command they had been for some time besieging the Christians intrenched in their fortress; though these soldiers were already accustomed to war against the infidels, as a child is accustomed to take nourishment from the breast of his mother, and were satiated with Christian blood, as a hungry lion who throws himself upon his prey.

A general attack was ordered by Sinān Pasha, who took part in it in person with the greatest intrepidity. The troops following the example of their chief, and animated with a holy courage, dashed on the enemy, who had retreated behind his intrenchments, undaunted in their heroic courage by the thought of death, which struck them down on every side.

Fire and steel disabled many of them on the battle-field; and a large number of these true defenders of the Faith found in this battle the noble and holy death of the martyr; but they did not cease to live; for they are near God in the abode of the everlasting enjoyment الْجَنَّةِ. Nevertheless, the heavy losses that the army had to suffer did not abate its wondrous courage.

The Mussulmans rushed again to the fight, and this time their vigorous and dauntless attack was so obstinate and persevering, that it was not long before the place fell

into their power, and the glorious standards could at last wave from the summit of the ramparts. 3000 Christians were killed in this fight, and the rest of the garrison, numbering about 5000, found their safety in flight, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the citadel.

The fugitives ran in all haste towards the shore, to a distance of two or three bow-shots from the fortress, and sheltered themselves against a fresh attack behind intrenchments of earth and sand, which they hastened to throw up around them.

During that time the victorious army was occupied in taking complete possession of the fortress. They found stored up in it a large amount of gunpowder, numerous pieces of artillery; quantities of armour and arms, biscuits and other provisions, and also beams and planks which were to be used in new works which the Christians had projected, for, on account of the rapidity with which these events had followed one another, the citadel and other fortifications had not been entirely finished. Happily, God was pleased to come to the aid of the well-being and glory of the Empire, by permitting the Ottoman troops to arrive at Tunis before the Christians had entirely finished putting the place in a good state of defence, and indeed we owe it to truth to say that, judging by the resistance offered, if the army had delayed much longer in laying siege to that fortress, it would not have been reduced so easily as it was.

Skilfully taking advantage of the dismay and confusion spread in the ranks of the infidels, the Vezir, at the head of his troops, advanced in all haste towards the Christian intrenchments, and the army, following the example of its leader, rushed with menacing impetuosity on the enemy's

camp. The Christians, convinced that their lives depended upon their courage alone, opposed to the Mussulmans a vigorous and obstinate resistance.

The struggle was terrible ; each side came hand to hand, face to face, breast to breast, blade to blade. The sword dyed with blood caused the heads to fly afar, and the blade of the keen-edged dagger was thrust to the deepest recesses of the heart. Blood streamed in torrents, the earth and the sand of the shore were drenched, even the sea became red with it, and whirlwinds of dust and smoke enwrapped the blood-stained theatre of that awful fight.

Victory at last declared itself in favour of the glorious army of the Mussulmans. The enemy were completely annihilated. The whole army offered thanks to the Most-High for this memorable battle, for this brilliant success, with which He had deigned to favour the Faith of Islam. The General-in-Chief was covered with glory. He was conqueror and victorious, and his soul was expanded in happiness and joy. As to the army, the booty which fell to its share cannot be described, so immense was it.

The details of the victory were immediately despatched to the Sublime Porte, and the news of it was spread abroad through the whole Empire, filling the hearts of all good Mussulmans from east to west with an intense joy.

Undoubtedly, if heavenly support had not come to the rescue in these momentous circumstances, the happiness and tranquillity of the Mussulman people would have been done away ; and no doubt, also, that if the illustrious and noble Sultan Selīm Khān had not ordered the wars against the infidels, we would have shortly seen them absolute masters and rulers of Tunis, Algeria, and other countries belonging to Islam. The Arabs of the west would have

come to such an extremity, that they would not have been long in denying the faith of their forefathers; and the impious Christians, encouraged by their successess, would have carried the religion of the Cross into the very heart of Egypt itself. God forbid that such a misfortune, such a sad calamity, should ever happen; and may He plunge the worshipers of the Cross into the abyss of confusion till the day of Resurrection and the Last Judgment!

But the Almighty, in His infinite goodness, came to the assistance of that noble Prince of Islam, and shielded him with His Divine protection, so as to enable him to drive away the infidel, to smite him with the sword of vengeance, and to strike him down, so that he will never again have the temerity to lift up his head after so dire and complete a discomfiture.

May He, the Most High, generously reward the efforts made and the care taken by this great monarch to exalt more and more the glory of Islam! May He also not forget in His Mercy and His bounty the virtues and the noble devotion of that great Vezir to whose intelligence and merits is in part due the victory which was so gloriously won!

This memorable action took place on the 25th of Djoumada-el-Evvel, 981.

The siege and the surrender of the three fortresses cost ten thousand Christians their lives (may they be plunged in depths of the infernal abyss!), and nearly ten thousand Mussulmans found the glorious death of the martyr in fighting the Holy War. In this number are to be mentioned Khizr Bey, Emir of the Kurds; Mustafa Bey, and Berouiz Bey, of the division of Mytelene; Mustafa Bey, of the division of Yourk; Ahmed Bey, of the division of

Avlona; Bāyezid Bey, of the division of Terkhala; Safar Bey, of the division of Alexandria; a chief of the Janissaries named Ferhād; a chief of the Infantry, and several other high officers of the army.

Two hundred Christians managed to escape from the massacre, and came to ask for mercy at the foot of the Vezīr, and to implore that their lives might be spared. Amongst them were able masters in the art of casting cannon. The General-in-Chief granted them the grace they asked for, imposing upon them the obligation and the task of continuing to cast pieces of artillery in the arsenals of the Turkish Empire. Notwithstanding that, they were to be tied two by two, with a chain at their feet. He allowed them pensions for their support, furnished them with new clothes, and ordered that they should be put on the same footing as the other workmen employed in the arsenals. 225 pieces of heavy artillery fell into the power of the army in consequence of the taking of the fortress of Tunis and Goletta.

Sinān Pasha sent 190 of them to Constantinople, and the other 35 were left to be used for the defence of the fortress of Tunis against any new attack that the infidel Christians might attempt.

The General-in-Chief did not fail to largely recompense each of the superior officers who had joined him in that noble and courageous enterprise, each according to his merits and the services rendered by him; he recommended them, moreover, to the high benevolence of the Sublime Porte.

The sums distributed by him on that occasion are beyond calculation, and would have sufficed to form real treasures. The government of the Sublime Porte gave its

full sanction to the measures taken by Sinān, as well as to the rich rewards distributed by him : wishing to remunerate by this sanction, in a particular manner, the services, the courage and the devotion of the army and its officers. As to Sinān Pasha, he was the object of high Imperial favours, and was invested with several lofty offices, in recompense for his efforts and endeavours in support of the Faith. He was besides, largely indemnified for the outlay and expense he had to incur on the occasion.

NOTES.

Note 1, page 15.—Selim Khān II. succeeded his father, at the age of forty, in the year 974 of the Hijra (1566 A.D.). He continued for a while the war his father had undertaken against Hungary; but it soon after came to an end by the treaty concluded in 975 with the Emperor Maximilian. It was in his reign that the Island of Cyprus was conquered, and that Turkey lost in 979 (1571) the famous battle of Lepanto. Selim died in the year 982 of the Hijra (1574), and left the throne to his son Murād Khān, known to Europeans by the name of Amurath III. Mr. Gibb in his *Biographical notices* contained in his “*Ottoman Poems*” (translated into English verse in the original forms, with Introduction, Biographical Notices, and Notes, by E. J. W. Gibb, M. R. A. S.; London, Trübner & Co.) p. 199, says:—“Selimī: Sultan Selim II. (982=1574) one day near the beginning of the First Rebiʿ, of the year 974 (September, 1566), the cannons of Leander’s Tower announced to the people of Constantinople that the great Suleymān was no more, and that his son Selim was Sultan in his stead—very bad news, had they known it. Selim’s mother was the Russian slave-girl known by the Persian name of Khurrem, ‘Gay,’* who had gained a great and pernicious influence over her master, and, after a series of dark and cruel intrigues, culminating in the murder of the gallant Prince Mustafa, had managed to secure the succession for her son. The character of this son was the very opposite to that of his illustrious father. A dissolute drunkard, who, instead of attending to the

* Europeans call her Roxelana.

affairs of his empire, shut himself up in his harem. Selim II. is notable in history as the first Ottoman Sultan who shrank from leading his armies in person. But the empire of Muhammad the Conqueror and Süleymân the Law-giver, was too strongly built to fall to pieces even under the rule of so effeminate a sovereign; it maintained all its splendour and even extended its limits by the conquest of Cyprus from the Venetians. The wine of the island is said to have been the attraction in the eyes of the despicable semi-Russian Sultan. Towards the close of his reign a combination of all the Christian powers of the Mediterranean gained a naval victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto. Although these Christians made great noise about this, it was for them but a barren triumph; for when, a year or two later, the Venetians sued for peace, they had not only to agree to the retention of Cyprus by the Sultan, but to pay him all the expenses of the conquest."

Moreover Mr. Gibb, in his Biographical Notices contained in the "Ottoman Poems," p. 201, gives the following account of Amurath III., which we are sure will be read with pleasure:—
 "Murādī: Sultan Murād III. (1003=1595), who succeeded his father Selim II. in 982 (1574), was a mild and well-meaning prince, but destitute of those high qualities which are necessary for the guidance of a mighty empire. His favourite wife, Sâfiyya, a Venetian lady of the noble house of Baffo, who had been captured by Turkish cruisers along with three other women, one of whom was Murād's mother, had the chief voice in the direction of the Imperial affairs. The most prominent features of his reign were wars with Persia and Austria, and the rapid progress of corruption and military insubordination, Murād III.—unworthy namesake of the valiant Khudāvendigâr, who died by an assassin's hand on the plain of Kosova, after laying the pride of Servia in the dust—found his chief pleasure in the society of his ladies and eunuchs, jesters and dancers. Though a voluptuary, he was a protector of poets and

philosophers, with whom he was fond of conversing. His own poems are mostly religious or mystical, and he is remarkable as the only one of the Ottoman Sultans who has written an ascetic work. On the morning of the last day of his life, he was lying in a beautiful kiosk that looked out upon the Bosphorus, watching the vessels sailing to and fro, when, feeling the presentiment of approaching death, contrary to his custom of allowing his minstrels to choose what airs they pleased, he told them to play him that one of which the appropriate words commence thus :

I am sick, O Death, this night come thou and watch keep by my side." *

Just then two Egyptian galleys arrived and saluted the seat of empire. The glass dome of the kiosk, where the dying Sultan lay, was shattered by their cannon-fire. "Formerly," said Murād, bitterly weeping, "the salute of all the fleet would not have broken this glass, which now falls at the noise of the cannon of these galleys : thus is it with the kiosk of my life."

Note 2, p. 15.—The dynasty of the Hafsites called Benī-Abi-Hafs, reigned from 551 A.H. (1156 A.D.) till 982 (1574). Muley Hasan, whom Barbarossa had driven from Tunis, was restored to the throne by Charles V. in the year 943 of the Hijra (1536 A.D.), and reigned till 950 (1543). Hamīd, who succeeded him, was himself succeeded by Muhammad his brother, who was sent to Constantinople by Sinān Pasha in the year 981.

Note 3, p. 16.—The Turks, after establishing themselves at Algiers, never ceased to aim at the sovereignty of Tunis, and succeeded, through the discord which had arisen among the members of the reigning family of Abi-Hafs, to surprise that town in 1534. In 1535 Charles V. took possession of it, after

* بِمَارِئِ أَجَلٍ بُو كَيْجَه بَيْكَلَه يَا نَمْدَه

having defeated Barbarossa and obliged him to take to flight, and replaced on the throne Muley Hasan (of the family of Abī-Hafs), who acknowledged himself a vassal of Spain, and who had gone to implore the assistance of that country. Robertson, in his *History of Charles V.*, vol. iv. p. 294, says :—
“ Muley Hasan, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the Muhammadan princes in Africa willing or able to assist him in recovering his throne, applied to Charles V. as the only person who would assert his rights in opposition to such a formidable usurper (Barbarossa).”

The Emperor, equally desirous of delivering his dominions from so dangerous a neighbour as Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate prince, and of acquiring the glory attached in that age to every expedition against the Mussulmans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley Hasan, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Robertson seems to have been mistaken, as Muley Hasan was not repulsed by all the Mussulman princes of Africa, for Paul Jove assures us that he was welcomed by Du-Rakhis, governor of Constantine. Again, Muley Hasan does not seem to have concluded any treaty with Charles V., since he says the following words to the Emperor, which are reported by Branthomme :—“ Great Prince, it is not on my entreaties that you have come into this country with arms in your hand. The difference which exists between our two religions would not allow me to implore your assistance.” Whatever be the case, it was mostly through the advice of the Pope, Paul III., that Charles V. decided to invade Tunis. The Pope declared to the Emperor that it was unworthy of a great prince such as he to continue his attacks on a king of France, a Christian Prince, rather than to put an end to the persecutions to which Barbarossa, an infidel, subjected all Christendom; and in order to aid him in this great enterprise, he granted to Charles V. an extraordinary right, to one-tenth of the revenue of the Spanish Clergy, so as

to enable him to fight Khayru-'d-Dīn with forces sufficient to destroy his power. (N.B.—خير الدين Khayru-'d-Dīn was the true name of the Turkish Admiral, whom the Christians called Barba-rossa, "Red Beard.")

Note 4, p. 16.—The author means here the expedition fitted out by Philip II. in 1571, and conducted by Don Juan of Austria.

Note 5, p. 17.—Verse from the Qurān.

Note 6, p. 18.—Sinān Pasha was a renegade, and a Florentine by birth; or, according to others, a Milanese of the house of the Viscontis.

Note 7, p. 18.—Qilij 'Ali was commonly known under the name of 'Ali-el-Farthaz, "Ali the Bold." He was a Calabrian by birth named Ochiali, which name the Turks changed into Qilij 'Ali, which means "Sword 'Ali."

Note 8, p. 20.—Qurān, Sūra III., verse 163.

Note 9, p. 20.—Maghreb means "sunset," and the place where the sun sets; at present it is the name of Morocco,—not the town, which is called Marrākesh, مَرَّاكُش.

Note 10, p. 21.—Qurān, Sūra XX., verse 127.

Note 11, p. 21.—Kilibiah, or better Iqlibia, is a small town east of Cape Bon.

Note 12, p. 23.—Mustafa-el-Hafsī was re-established on the throne of Tunis by Don Juan of Austria.

Note 13, p. 23.—An Ottoman ايالت *eyālet*, "province," was divided into several *سَنَاق* *sanjaq*, which in their turn were subdivided into a number of *قَضا* *Qazās*. A *سَنَاق* *Sanjaq* *Begi* was the governor of one of the sub-provinces called *Sanjaq*. The word *سَنَاق* properly means "flag;" the sub-provinces were so called because their governors were entitled to carry a flag to the wars.

Note 14, p. 23.—The name of that fortress is known to the natives of Tunis under two denominations,—El-Bāstiōn (البَاسْتِيُون) and Kūklūādkān (كوكلوا دكان). The place is

used at present as a tannery, and the foundations of the citadel were still to be seen at the time of Hammūda Pasha. A fortuitous circumstance caused the discovery of its site under the reign of that prince. The spot served as a place for emptying all the dirt and rubbish of the town, so that the road from the Marina to Tunis had the appearance, so to speak, of hills formed of filth and trash heaped together. Robbers and highwaymen took advantage of those mounds, using them as lurking-places to commit murders and thefts. Hammūda Pasha, wishing to put an end to this state of things, ordered that the place should be entirely cleared. Under those heaps of dirt and rubbish were found girders, planks, and other materials, which had formerly served to build the Spanish fortress, also pieces of artillery.

Note 15, p. 25.—Arab-Hamid Pasha was elected in 979.

Note 16, p. 27.—Ramazān, a Sardinian renegade, was elected Pasha of Algiers in 882. It was under his government that the Algerine troops penetrated into Morocco to support the pretensions of Muley Malik against Muley Muhammad.

